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ABSTRACT

A study examined the relationship between social and material values and attitudes toward television advertising. Using the Rokeach Value Survey Form E, 157 Canadian college students ranked the 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values in order of their importance as guiding principles for life. The values were classified as either material, social, or neutral. Students' attitudes toward advertising were determined using eight bi-polar word pairs to which they responded on a seven-interval semantic differential scale. Results indicated that subjects who have material values have a more positive perception of advertising on prime-time television and a stronger desire for the lifestyle depicted in advertising. Additionally, those subjects who highly ranked the instrumental value "intellectual" had a more negative attitude toward advertising, while those who highly ranked "polite" had a more positive attitude toward advertising. Results also suggest that television advertising promotes material values at the expense of social values, and therefore, the corporate vision of cultural materialism is enhanced. If public consciousness of personal and mass media value content were raised, then viewers would be better equipped to change personal values or control exposure to materialistic messages. (A three-page reference list and tables are included; values surveys and a survey measuring attitude toward advertising are appended.) (SRT)

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Canadian Cultural Materialism: Personal Values and Television Advertising

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Canadian Cultural Materialism: Personal Values and Television Advertising[1]

Introduction

Basic to a critical study of personal values and television advertising is the analysis of the corporate interest (and necessity) in promoting material values over social values. As well, there should be an emphasis on viewer consciousness. Tuchman (1983) states that the significant questions in the study of media remain questions of consciousness and society. Ultimately the concern with consciousness forces consideration of dominant ideologies, the maintenance of power, the control and co-optation of social change and the possibility of resistance to media hegemony (Tuchman, 1983:331).

Critical research could be linked to mass media effects theory. Domination, a concept often referred to by such critical theorists as; Marcuse (1966), Enzensberger (1974), Tuchman (1974), Ewen (1976), and Smythe (1981), is conceived as a mass media effect. However, new research approaches are required in order to better articulate such effects (Smythe, 1984). A new research approach must deal with consciousness.

The present research study primarily deals with the question of consciousness. Consciousness is projected through the measurement of one's value system and one's attitude toward television advertising. In order to construct a dialectical model, Rokeach's (1973) personal values were divided into material values, social values and unclassified values. The ranking of these values was then related to the perception of television advertising and the lifestyle it presents.

We will hypothesize that a positive perception of television advertising and a stronger desire for the lifestyle it presents are related to giving greater importance to material values and lesser importance to social values. While this does not prove that those emphasizing material values assimilate those values from commercial television we can, however, theorize why these people like television advertising and desire the lifestyle it presents. The theory of cognitive dissonance suggests that those emphasizing material values like television advertising because it reinforces their own (material) values. Those giving more importance to social values reject television advertising because it contradicts their own (social) values.

It is suggested that television advertising, taken in aggregate, legitimizes (and reinforces) material values (Pleasure, Comfortable Life, Social Recognition, Ambitious, Independent) while ignoring, and therefore delegitimizing, social values (Equality, Wisdom, Inner Harmony, World of Beauty, Helpful).

While the corporations that support commercial television have a legitimate interest in creating a favourable environment for the sale of their products, it must not be forgotten that these corporations use the public airwaves, not the corporate airwaves, to achieve their purpose. As commercial television encourages viewers to think of themselves and their private worlds it disconnects the viewers from each other and encourages traits of materialism and narcissism (Lasch, 1979). Television encourages separation; people

from community and people from each other, creating more buying units and discouraging organized opposition to the system (Mander, 1978:133). A lack of empathy for others is not a useful asset for a society concerned with social reform.

The corporate perception of social reform is based on corporate profits. In the "corporate vision", material values are the ultimate good as they encourage consumption which is related to increased production (and increased corporate profits). The ever expanding economy thus creates new jobs and opportunities, allowing all to advance into the "good life".

While material values are important to the maintenance of consumption levels, they run counter to other value traditions in Canadian society. Dominant religious values are social values, not material values. Accordingly, concern for one's fellow man takes precedence over private consumption. On a political level Canada has been a welfare state, a system of government where social values are important. Social assistance programs have been instituted; instead of programs based upon a model of social Darwinism, which would be more consistent with the corporate view of competition in the free marketplace.

Nicholas Garnham (1983) refers to this tendency for legitimization and reinforcement of "corporate vision" and materialistic values as "cultural materialism". He states:

> "Cultural materialism entails focusing upon the irreducible material determinants of the social processes of symbolic exchange and upon the ways in which historically, within the general development of the capitalist mode of production, these processes have been brought within the sphere of commodity production and exchange and with what effects. In short, it examines the process described by Enzensberger as 'the industrialization of the mind'" (Garnham, 1979:321).

Mass media advertising, in general, and television advertising, in particular, are the primary carriers, in a mass society, of the symbols associated with creating and managing demand for products resulting from mass industrialization. Commodity exchange is encouraged through an emphasis of values which reinforce materialism. Once these values become salient they form a pervasive foundation upon which all other social attitudes and behaviour are based.

ADVERTISING AND VALUES

Past research has rarely touched on the social character of advertising. Even the best of these studies has not dealt with the larger issue of value content (Pollay, 1983:72). Literature sporadically refers to the rhetoric of values in advertising. Historians led by David Potter state that despite the relatively simple motivation of each advertiser to sell more, advertising's greater significance lies in its aggregate impact, providing an omnipresent rhetorical environment which surrounds people of all ages, classes and interests (Pitts and Woodside, 1984:112). According to Potter (1954:177), advertising sets the values and standards of society without being linked to any of the socially defined objectives which usually guide such institutions in the use of power.

Of all the social issues involving advertising, the broadest have to do with its impact on values and lifestyles. Unfortunately, it is in this area that hard data are least in existence (Greyser, 1972:140). The overriding question in this area is whether advertising creates or reflects the values of society. Most observers implicate advertisers not as creators of values, but exploiters of values (Greyser, 1972:140).

Advertising may for example exploit the value of "social recognition". "Social recognition" in itself is a natural human value. However, advertising combines materialism and social recognition into a new gestalt. There are many possible ways to achieve social recognition (creativity in painting, writing, community work, etc.), but advertising defines private consumption as "the" means to achieve social recognition. In this way social recognition becomes defined as a material value. Advertising did not create social recognition as a value, it just gives it a material definition.

In advertising all ideals and values are called into the service of, and subordinated to, the purchase of goods and the attainment of a materially satisfying style of life.

> Traditions of social solidarity like family, kinship and friendship are invoked in service of the marketplace. What is distinctly capitalist is that the satisfactions portrayed are invariably private, even if they are familial or social they do not invoke public or collective values. They offer a public portrait of ideals and values consistent with the promotion of a social order in which people are encouraged to think of themselves and their private world (Schudson, 1984:221).

Schudson sees advertising as an art form which he terms "capitalist realism". He compares Soviet socialist art to advertising describing how both picture reality as progress toward a future and so represent progress positively. Both create pleasing images of their societies, both endorse new features of society, thus aiding the masses in assimilating them (Schudson 1984:215). Neither presents a picture of life as it is, but rather as it should be. Socialist realism dignifies human labour in the service of the state, while capitalist realism glorifies the pleasures and freedoms of consumer choice, in defence of the virtues of private life and material ambitions (Schudson, 1984:218). While Soviet art idealizes the producer, American commercial art idealizes the consumer.

Another major question relating to advertising's value effects concerns the differentiation between real needs and those generated by advertising. Three categories of wants and needs have been suggested: (1) needs (minimum natural requirements), (2) genuine wants (which we become aware of without advertising), and (3) unwanted demand (created by advertising) (Tonynbee, 1966:144-5). It is perhaps giving advertising too much credit to accuse it of creating needs. What it does is provide simple corporate solutions to real problems (Ewen, 1976). For example, the need for self-expression is a real need. What advertising does is define material consumption as "the" means of satisfying this need. While expensive perfumes and automobiles do serve the purpose of self-expression, they are not the only things that can. An individual can write poetry, sing, or become a political activist. These are real possibilities, but they are ignored or trivialized by advertising.

As the economy is increasingly characterized by mass production, mass consumption becomes an increasing economic necessity. It is through the mass media that industrial society enforces its will. It promotes the idea that man's only perception of social betterment lies in the greater accumulation of material possessions (Ewen, 1976:219). All needs, which were previously satisfied through education, tradition, or religion are translated into material appetites (Linden, 1979:xiii).

McLuhan, as cited by Czitron, has commented on the declining importance of educational institutions.

> Formal education of any type cannot hope to compete with the unofficial education people receive from the new media. The classroom cannot compete with the glitter and billion dollar success and prestige of the commercial education. Least of all with a commercial education which is designed as entertainment and which bypasses the intellect while operating directly on the will and desires (Czitron, 1982:171).

Postman (1985) echoes this viewpoint by discussing how television is destroying the content and meaning of public discourse, including politics, religion, and education.

Horkheimer is referenced as saying that the rule of economy over all personal relationships and the universal control of commodities over the totality of life becomes a new form of command and obedience (Ewen, 1976:59). Advertisers institutionalize envy and create a consumer perpetually unsatisfied, restless, anxious and bored (Lasch, 1978:139). The result is what Eric Fromm calls the "homoconsumer"; individuals who live and work to perpetuate the capitalist system, based on the commoditization of life (Smythe, 1981:9).

Marcuse in Eros and Civilization wrote:

> The high standard of living in the domain of the great corporations is restrictive in a concrete

> sociological sense: the goods and services that the individuals buy control their needs and petrify their faculties. In exchange for commodities the individual sells not only his labour, but also his free time. The better living is offset by the all pervasive control over living. All the material benefits divert attention from the real issue which is the awareness that individuals can work less and determine their own needs and satisfactions (Marcuse, 1966:91).

Lasch (1979) contends that advertising has promoted consumption as the primary value in life while assuring the audience that the sponsor is a patron of common ideals (Schudson, 1984:233). Lears (1983) argues that advertising has helped reinforce a "culture of consumption" in which pursuit of material goods has replaced the pursuit of spiritual values, while Boorstein (1973) charges that advertising has fostered a "community of consumption" in which our simultaneous possession of the same popular brands is all that remains to bind us together. Embree (1972) concludes that commercials create commercialized people in its own image, and marketed commodities create people who think of themselves as marketable commodities.

The cover of Newsweek magazine on 31 December, 1984 declared 1984 to be the "Year of the Yuppie" (Young Urban Professional). Yuppies represent a mentality of materialism as the only justifiable way to lead one's life, they live to buy (Kosanovic 1985:A5). While in decades past the most talked about subcultures had a social conscience (e.g., beatniks, hippies, yippies, etc.), today's movement invokes the material conscience of yuppies.

Can the following passage from Elul (1973), which defines the success of propaganda in directing the individual, be applied to the yuppie?

> In the midst of increasing mechanization and technological organization, propaganda is simply the means used to prevent those things from being felt as too oppressive and to persuade man to submit with good grace. When man will be fully adapted to this technological society, when he will end by obeying with enthusiasm, convinced of the excellence of what he is forced to do the constraint of the organization will no longer be felt by him, the truth is, it will no longer be a constraint and the police will have nothing to do. The civic and technological good will - both created by propaganda - will finally have solved the problem of man (Ellul, 1973:xi).

As the Yuppie shows his enthusiasim for materialism he represents the model citizen in corporate society. He proudly sports the bumper sticker that proclaims, "Live To Shop".

Few research studies have dealt with the concept of materialism and advertising. One such study (Belk and Pollay, 1985) however, found that recent advertising has increasingly portrayed consumption as an end rather than as a means to consumer well being. This is consistent with the primacy of consumption suggested in other literature.

At the same time, Yankelovich (1981) has found that American values and aspirations have increasingly come to reflect material comforts as ends rather than means and the primacy of the material world over the spiritual world.

VALUES RESEARCH

Few researchers define material values (as opposed to social values) in any more than a very general manner. Furthermore few research studies have attempted to link viewer personal value systems to perceptions of television and advertising and the lifestyle it represents.

Rokeach (1973) has developed a means of quantifying personal value systems. The Rokeach Value Survey (see Appendix A) identifies 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values that are universally meaningful. Terminal values concern desired "end states of existence", while instrumental values concern "desired modes of conduct" (Rokeach, 1973: 77). In practice respondents are asked to arrange both sets of values in order of their importance as guiding principles in their lives (Rokeach, 1979). In this way each respondent's value system is self-reported.

Rokeach (1973) defines a value as an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or contrary mode of conduct or end state of existence. Values are global beliefs that transcendentally guide actions and judgements across specific situations (Rokeach, 1968). A value system is then an enduring organization of conduct or end states of existence along a continuum of relative importance (Rokeach, 1973:5).

Attitudes on the other hand, focus on specific objects and situations. An attitude is an orientation toward certain objects (including persons, others and oneself) or situations which results

from the application of a general value to concrete objects (Theodorsen and Theodorsen, 1969).

Values are determinants of virtually all kinds of behaviour and attitudes from simple purchasing behaviour to religious ideology. They guide the presentation of self and the evaluation of both self and others (Pollay, 1983:72). Values are also standards that govern what beliefs and behaviours are worth preserving, and trying to change.

It would be valuable if a method existed to determine which of Rokeach's 36 values can be considered material values and which social values. By "material values" we mean values that are primarily related to goals in the material realm, and those values that relate to oneself and one's private world. By "social values" we mean values that are primarily related to humanistic, non-material goals, and those values that relate to the collective experience and relations with others.

Since the Rokeach values are all conceived to be desirable, a simple arbitrary selection of values that "sound" materialistic or social in nature would be too subjective. While no previous research has attempted to classify the Rokeach values in terms of their being either material values or social values, there does exist a large body of research using Rokeach values in relationship to various attitudes and orientations. While the Rokeach values themselves may be difficult to classify as being either social or material, the attitudes and orientations dealt with in the literature are much easier to classify as being social or material in nature.

It is suggested that we look at the Rokeach values that have been associated with a large number of social and material orientations and assume that the Rokeach values predominantly associated with material orientations can be termed material values. Likewise the Rokeach values predominantly associated with social orientations can be termed social values.

Table #1 lists clusters of personal values that have been found in previous literature (Rokeach, 1973) to be related to specific orientations. These orientations and their related values are listed under either a material or social heading. Under the material heading are listed the value clusters: American Values, Anti-Poor Values, Anti-Communist Values, Low Religious Salience Values, Non-Hippie Values and Business Academic Values. Under the social heading are listed the value clusters: Canadian Values, Pro-Poor Values, Pro-Communism Values, High Religious Salience Values, Hippie Values and Social Science Academic Values. As well, value clusters representing Eastern Orientations and Western Orientations (Gilgen and Cho, 1979) were included. The Western Orientation value cluster was placed on the material side and the Eastern Orientation value cluster was placed on the social side.

-- Table #1 about here --

In addition Rokeach's (1973) value factors were placed on either the material or social side in Table #1. Rokeach provides a factorial structure for the 36 personal values, identifying seven bi-polar factors. Surlin suggests that "moral" and "social" value salience indicates a

concern for moral judgements as well as a concern for society at large. This profile reflects the concerns of a past less industrialized, less competitive and more nurturing society (Surlin, 1985). "Competence" and "Personal" value salience reflects a concern for personal growth and development. This profile reflects the concerns of materialistic mass society.

On this basis, the Rokeach factors: Immediate Gratification, Competence, Self-Constriction, Personal Orientation, Family Security, Respect and Inner Directed were placed on the material side. Delayed Gratification, Morality, Self-Expansion, Social Orientation, Social Security, Love and Other Directed were placed on the social side.

Table #1 then consists of value clusters which represent value orientations related to attitudes, citizenship and occupation; as well, there are value clusters associated with Rokeach's value factors. While these are diverse clusters with some clusters being in logical opposition (e.g., Pro-Communist and High Religious Salience on the social side) it is believed that in summation a material and social thread will be seen to run through these clusters.

Table #2 then lists the values which were found to be either predominantly social or material. For a value to be considered a "material value" it was required to be cited on the material side a minimum of four times and have at least twice as many material as social citings. For a value to be considered a "social value" it was required to be cited on the social side a minimum of four times and have at least twice as many social as material citings.

-- Table #2 about here --

This procedure found Comfortable Life, Sense of Accomplishment, Pleasure and Social Recognition to be "material" terminal values; while World at Peace, World of Beauty, Equality, Inner Harmony and Wisdom were found to be "social" terminal values. In the case of the instrumental values; Ambitious, Capable, Independent, Responsible and Self-Controlled were found to be "material" instrumental values; while Broadminded, Cheerful, Forgiving, Helpful, Imaginative and Loving were found to be "social" instrumental values.

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

The principle of cognitive dissonance may very well explain and predict the relationship between personal values and perceptions of television advertising. This principle is based on the assumption that a person is motivated to maintain a consistency or consonance among pairs of relevant cognitions, where a cognition refers to any knowledge or belief about self, behaviour or the environment (Corsini, 1984:235). When two cognitions are regarded as dissonant, this dissonance is postulated to be psychologically uncomfortable and to produce pressure to both reduce the dissonance and to avoid situations or information which would increase the dissonance.

Thus, individuals who find their value systems contradicted by values presented in television advertising would reduce this dissonance by either altering their value systems to fall in line with that of television advertising, or devaluing their perceptions of television

advertising. In the case where individuals already posess a value system consistent with that of television advertising, they will form a positive opinion of commercial television because it reinforces their existing beliefs.

Literature indicates that television advertising promotes consumption and materialism. Therefore, if advertising does reinforce material values over social values, those individuals who personally give greater importance to material values should have a more positive attitude toward advertising and the lifestyle it presents.

On the other hand, those who give greater importance to social values will reject values presented in television advertising and will devalue their attitude toward advertising and the lifestyle it presents.

Consequently, the two major hypotheses for this study are:

H_1: There is a negative relationship between the holding of social values, and a positive relationship between the holding of material values, with one's attitude toward television advertising.

H_2: There is a negative relationship between the holding of social values, and a positive relationship between the holding of material values, with one's desire for the lifestyle depicted on television advertising.

Methods[2]

Respondents consisted of students enrolled in three first-year Communication Studies classes at the University of Windsor, Canada. Only students living most of their life in Canada were used as respondents. This was done to preclude cultural differences from affecting results. A relatively homogenous sample provides a more

powerful test when conducting value research (Becker and Conner, 1981). In total, one hundred and fifty-seven students participated in the study [N=157, 84 (54%) males and 73 (46%) females].

The primary research instrument used for this study was the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) Form E (Rokeach, 1973) (see Appendix A). The value survey identifies 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values that were selected on the assumption that they vary widely in importance and are universally meaningful.

The terminal values were distilled from a large list drawn from a search of the literature and an interview process not unlike focus groups in which citizens's own values were elicited. Several hundred concepts were identified and ultimately reduced through recognition of synonymous meanings and the elimination of items that were too specific or that did not represent end states of existence (Rokeach, 1973:9).

The instrumental values were a result of pruning from 555 personality traits (Rokeach, 1973:9). Again the pruning was on the basis of judgement of synonyms; the values important in American Society; those likely to be maximally discriminating across social status, race, age, and other demographic variables; and those minimally intercorrelated (Rokeach, 1973:9). Certain values such as "survival" and "health" were not included because they were considered to be too important; people were not expected to vary enough in their ranking of such values (Rokeach, 1979).

Respondents are given the simple instructions "arrange these values in order of their importance to you as guiding principles in your life" and according to Rokeach (1979), respondents ranging from 11 to 70 years in age have readily responded. In this study, the RVS Form E had respondents rank their values by writing in numbers from 1 to 18 in the blank space provided beside the value descriptions.

There is supportive reliability data for this value form reported by Rokeach in the United States (1973), Norman Feather in Australia (1975) and Manfred Schneider in West Germany (1977). The test-retest reliabilities for the RVS have been found to be .74 for terminal values and .65 for instrumental values in an American college sample and .74 for terminal values and .70 for instrumental values in an Australian college sample (Rokeach, 1973:33).

The construct validity of the RVS instrument has been less extensively studied. Since the procedure involves rank ordering, ipsative data is produced (Thompson, Levitov, and Miederhoff, 1982:900-901). If a subject chooses to rank a value number one, then consequently the remaining values must be ranked lower. Thus, the subject's response to one item constrains responses to the remaining items. The important limitation on ipsative procedures is that, strictly speaking, the usual statistics are not applicable since such statistics depend upon the assumptions that ipsative procedures systematically violate (Kerlinger, 1973:509).

Rank ordered data cannot easily be entered into regression or

other multivariate analyses (Chapman, 1983:419). However, procedures have been suggested to convert rank ordered data to a normal distribution (Hays, 1967:35), using reliable Z-scores. This is the procedure used in the present study.

Rating the value items rather than ranking them would produce normative data. However, Rankin and Grube (1980) after a rigorous comparison came out in favour of the ranking procedure, finding no appreciable difference between the ranking and rating procedure in terms of test-retest reliability, convergent and discriminant validity, as well as construct validity.

Eight bi-polar word pairs were used to determine student attitudes toward advertising (see Appendix B). A seven-interval semantic differential scale was used to form an attitudinal index. The index range is 8, the least favourable evaluation, to 56, the most favourable evaluation. To limit occurence of response set, favourable/unfavourable words for each pair were reflected.

Also, respondents were asked to respond on a five-interval Likert-like scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree) to the statement: "Advertising shown on prime-time television presents a lifestyle that you want for yourself."

Instrumental and terminal values will be analyzed separately since they each reflect a differing set of values. Each value set is used as an independent set of variables for multiple stepwise regression analysis with the advertising attitude index and the advertising lifestyle score as dependent variables.

Findings

Table #3 presents the means and corresponding rank orders of Rokeach's instrumental and terminal values as determined by respondents. While this sample cannot be said to represent any larger group it is important to determine if the sample deviates in any major way from other samples of university students.

Rokeach (1973) has developed a two value model of political ideology. In this model a Socialist orientation is represented by a high placement of both Freedom and Equality, while a Capitalist orientation is represented by a high placement of Freedom and a low placement of Equality (Rokeach, 1973:170). Since this study deals with questions of material and social values it is appropriate to check the political ideology of the sample with other college samples.

-- Table #3 about here --

The respondents in the present study ranked Freedom third and Equality fourteenth. This represents a capitalist ideology as would be expected. In comparison a Michigan State University sample ranked Freedom first and Equality thirteenth, while a University of Western Ontario (Canada) sample ranked Freedom first and Equality tenth (Rokeach, 1973:89). Surlin's (1985) sample of University of Windsor students ranked Freedom fourth and Equality twelfth. From this analysis it appears that the students in the present sample are not unique in political ideology.

With a range of 8-56, the overall mean score for the advertising attitudinal index was 26.4 (each bi-polar score was given equal weight). The overall reliability for this index is high as indicated by an alpha of .86 (no individual alpha score was under .84).

Half of the respondents "agreed" with the statement, "Advertising on prime-time television presents a lifestyle that you want for yourself": Strongly Agree, 13%; Agree, 37%; Neither Agree nor Disagree, 21%; Disagree, 21%; Strongly Disagree, 8%.

Table #4 contains the multiple regression analysis of each value set and the advertising attitudinal index. For terminal values, Wisdom and Mature Love together explain about 8% (R^2=.08096) of the advertising index variance (Sig. of F=.0019). Wisdom is the most important predictor (Beta=-.23854) and as hypothesized it has a negative relationship with the advertising index. It is a negative relationship due to the fact that when rank orders were transformed to Z-scores, the values of less importance (closer to 18) were given negative Z-scores and those of more importance (closer to 1) were given positive Z-scores. Thus, as Wisdom becomes a more salient value it can be used to predict a less positive attitude toward advertising. Mature Love is an unclassified value and is positively related to the advertising index (Beta=.136750).

-- Table #4 about here --

Instrumental values, Intellectual, Ambitious and Polite together explain about 11% (R^2=.11238) of the advertising index

variance (Sig. of F=.0013). The most important predictor is Intellectual (Beta=-.215769). It is an unclassified variable and has a negative relationship with the advertising index. Ambitious (Beta=.163135), Independent (Beta=.186274) and Polite (Beta=.174632) all have a positive relationship with the advertising index. Ambitious and Independent are material values and as hypothesized they exhibit a positive relationship. Thus, as Ambitious and Independent become more salient values they predict a more positive attitude to advertising on prime-time television

Overall, the regression procedure indicated five predictor variables significantly correlated with the advertising index: one social value, two material values and two unclassified values. All the social and material values were related in the directions hypothesized.

The first hypothesis is supported. The holding of more salient material values is related to a more positive attitude toward advertising on prime-time television; while the holding of more salient social values is related to a more negative attitude toward advertising. Unclassified values are important predictors of the advertising attitudinal index. A favourable ranking of Intellectual relates to a negative attitude toward advertising, while a favourable ranking of Polite relates to a positive attitude toward advertising.

Stepwise regression was also used to analyze the relationship between personal values and one's desire for lifestyle depicted on prime-time television advertising, Table #5. Terminal values Wisdom, Equality, Social Recognition and Inner Harmony together

explain about 28% (R^2=.2761) of the variance of one's desire for the lifestyle presented in advertising on prime-time television (sig. of F=.0000). Wisdom (Beta=-.346006), Equality (Beta=-.244047), and Inner Harmony (Beta=-.138035) exhibit a negative relationship with the desire for advertising's lifestyle. All of these are social values and thus these relationships were as hypothesized. Social Recognition (Beta=.189366) is a material value and as hypothesized has a positive relationship with the desire for advertising's lifestyle.

-- Table #5 about here --

The instrumental value, Ambitious, alone explains about 3% (R^2=.02646) of the variance of the desire for advertising's lifestyle. Ambitious (Beta=.162674) has a positive relationship with the desire for advertising's lifestyle. Since Ambitious is a material value, the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized.

The regression procedure indicated five predictor variables significantly correlated with the desire for advertising's lifestyle - three social values (Wisdom, Equality and Inner Harmony) and two material values (Social Recognition and Ambitious). All of these material and social values are related to a desire for advertising's lifestyle in the direction hypothesized. Therefore, the second hypothesis is supported.

The advertising attitudinal index is positively correlated with one's desire for lifestyle depicted on television advertising (r=.26, df=155, $p < .001$). Therefore, the more favourable one's attitude toward advertising the more the lifestyle depicted is

desired for oneself; strong support for a cognitive-behavioral balance hypothesis.

Conclusions

Holding of salient material values is related to a more positive perception of advertising on prime-time television and a stronger desire for the lifestyle depicted on prime-time television advertising. One could easily conclude that not only are most Canadian television viewers in cognitive balance with values embedded in television advertising, but that the materialistic values of viewers are continuously being reinforced through viewing.

Television advertising amplifies and transmits material values and it does so at the expense of social values. Therefore, the "corporate vision" of cultural materialism is enhanced. Television advertising is, in essence, a tool of corporate domination of our minds.

Once arriving at this conclusion one can proceed in several directions. Obviously, one could accept the present situation and suggest no change. Others may desire a balancing of values presented in television advertising, possibly through counter-commercials, public service announcements, or a change in corporate attitudes concerning marketing practices (i.e., social marketing).

One could suggest a general raising of the public consciousness toward personal and mass media value content. Through these means the viewer is better equipped to change personal values or control personal exposure to materialistic message systems. Finally, changes

could be made in the role played by other cultural institutions as purveyors of social values.

Continued research is needed to stimulate discourse, suggest methods for change, and measure results of change. Presently, no one knows how the Canadian materialistic culture and Canadian personal values will evolve in the future.

Notes

(1) A fuller discussion of the study reported here can be found in Larry A. Squire's M.A. thesis, The Interdependency Between Personal Values and Commercial Television (Department of Communication Studies, University of Windsor, Canada, 1986). Professor Surlin served as major professor. Appreciation is extended to the helpful suggestions offered throughout the course of this study by Professors Walter I. Romanow, Department of Communication Studies and Meyer W. Starr, Department of Psychology, both at the University of Windsor (Canada).

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TABLE 1

Social and Material Value Clusters

	Values Associated With a "Material" Orientation	Values Associated With a "Social" Orientation
American vs Canadian (Rokeach, 1973:89)	Comfortable Life Sense of Accomplishment World of Peace Salvation Social Recognition Wisdom Ambitious Capable Imaginative Logical Self-Controlled	Exciting Life World of Beauty Equality Inner Harmony Mature Love Pleasure True Friendship Cheerful Forgiving Helpful Independent Intellectual Loving
Anti-Poor vs Pro-Poor (Rokeach, 1973:103)	Sense of Accomplishment National Security Salvation Wisdom Independent Responsible Self-Controlled	Comfortable Life World at Peace Equality Happiness Cheerful Clean Helpful Loving Obedient
Anti-Communism vs Pro-Communism (Rokeach, 1973:109)	Salvation Social Recognition Clean Obedient	World of Beauty Equality Broadminded Imaginative Independent Self-Controlled
Religion Not Salient vs Religion Salient (Rokeach, 1973:112)	Comfortable Life Sense of Accomplishment Pleasure Social Recognition Ambitious Capable Independent Intellectual Logical	Salvation Family Security Forgiving Helpful Honest Loving Obedient

Table 1 (Con't.)

	Values Associated With a "Material" Orientation	Values Associated With a "Social" Orientation
Non-Hippie vs Hippie (Rokeach, 1973:141)	Comfortable Life Sense of Accomplishment Family Security National Security Salvation Self-Respect Social Recognition Ambitious Obedient Polite Responsible Self-Controlled Happiness	Exciting Life World at Peace World of Beauty Equality Pleasure Broadminded Cheerful Forgiving Imaginative Independent Loving Inner Harmony
Business Academic vs Social Science Academic (Rokeach, 1973:145)	Happiness Pleasure Family Security	Equality Mature Love Broadminded A World of Beauty Wisdom Imaginative
Western Orientation vs Eastern Orientation (Gilgen and Cho, 1979:266)	Comfortable Life Ambitious Responsible	World of Beauty Equality Inner Harmony Wisdom Cheerful Courageous Forgiving Helpful Honest Imaginative Loving
Immediate vs Delayed Gratification (Rokeach, 1973:47)	Comfortable Life Pleasure Clean An Exciting Life	Wisdom Inner Harmony Logical Self-Controlled
Competence vs Morality (Rokeach, 1973:47)	Logical Imaginative Intellectual Independent	Forgiving Salvation Helpful Clean

Table 1 (Con't)

	Values Associated With a "Material" Orientation	Values Associated With a "Social" Orientation
Self-constriction vs Self-Expansion (Rokeach, 1973:47)	Obedient Polite Self-Controlled Honest	Broadminded Capable
Personal Orientation vs Social Orientation (Rokeach, 1973:47)	True Friendship Self-Respect	A World at Peace National Security Equality Freedom
Respect vs Love (Rokeach, 1973:47)	Social Recognition Self-Respect	Mature Love Loving
Inner Directed vs Other Directed (Rokeach, 1973:47)	Independent Courageous	Polite
Family Security vs Social Security (Rokeach, 1973:47)	Family Security Ambitious Responsible Capable	A World of Beauty Equality Helpful Imaginative

TABLE 2

Material and Social Value Clusters

	Material Values	Social Values
Terminal Values	Comfortable Life	World of Peace
	Sense of Accomplishment	World of Beauty
	Pleasure	Equality
	Social Recognition	Inner Harmony
		Wisdom
Instrumental Values	Ambitious	Broadminded
	Capable	Cheerful
	Independent	Forgiving
	Responsible	Helpful
	Self-Controlled	Imaginative
		Loving

TABLE 3

Means and Ranks of the Rokeach Personal Values

(N = 157)

Terminal Values	Mean	Rank	Instrumental Values	Mean	Rank
Comfortable Life	7.77	4	Ambitious	7.68	4
Exciting Life	8.31	7	Broadminded	8.26	6
Sense of Accomplishment	8.61	8	Capable	9.78	11
World at Peace	8.97	11	Cheerful	8.69	8
World of Beauty	12.94	17	Clean	12.53	17
Equality	11.72	14	Courageous	9.87	12
Family Security	8.29	6	Forgiving	9.56	10
Freedom	7.46	3	Helpful	9.47	9
Happiness	5.71	1	Honest	5.85	1
Inner Harmony	8.65	9	Imaginative	10.28	13
Mature Love	8.87	10	Independent	8.25	5
National Security	14.11	18	Intellectual	8.47	7
Pleasure	10.07	13	Logical	10.96	16
Salvation	12.70	16	Loving	6.90	2
Self-Respect	8.07	5	Obedient	15.08	18
Social Recognition	11.89	15	Polite	10.73	14
True Friendship	7.23	2	Responsible	7.49	3
Wisdom	9.06	12	Self-Controlled	10.83	15

Key:

Value Ranks: 1 = Most Salient Value

18 = Least Salient Value

TABLE 4

Stepwise Regression: Personal Values With Ad Index

Terminal Values		Beta	Sig. of T
Wisdom	S	-.233854	.0037
Mature Love	X	.136750	.0869

R Squared = .08096 Sig. of F = .0019

Instrumental Values		Beta	Sig. of T
Intellectual	X	-.215769	.0066
Ambitious	M	.163135	.0384
Independent	M	.186274	.0237
Polite	X	.174652	.0358

R Squared = .11238 Sig. of F = .0013

X = Unclassified Value
M = Material Value
S = Social Value

TABLE 5

Regression: Personal Values With Ad-Lifestyle View

Terminal Values		Beta	Sig. of T
Wisdom	S	-.346006	.0000
Equality	S	-.244047	.0014
Social Recognition	M	.189366	.0148
Inner Harmony	S	-.138035	.0585

R Squared = .27621 Sig. of F = .0000

Instumental Value		Beta	Sig. of T
Ambitious	M	.162674	.0431

R Squared = .02646 Sig. of F = .0431

X = Unclassified Value
M = Material Value
S = Social Value

APPENDIX A

Terminal Values

On this page are 18 values listed in alphabetical order. Please arrange them in order of their importance to you, as guiding principles in your life.

First study the list carefully and pick out the one value which is most important to you and put in a "1" beside it. Then pick out the value which is second most important to you and put a "2" beside it. Continue to rank, in descending order of importance, each of the remaining values until you put an "18" beside the value least important to you.

If you change your mind about your rankings, feel free to change your answers. The end result should show how you really feel.

A Comfortable Life (a prosperous life) _____
An Exciting Life (a stimulating, active life) _____
A Sense of Accomplishment (lasting contribution) _____
A World at Peace (free of war and conflict) _____
A World of Beauty (beauty of nature and the arts) _____
Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all) _____
Family Security (taking care of loved ones) _____
Freedom (independence, free choice) _____
Happiness (contentedness) _____
Inner Harmony (freedom from inner conflict) _____
Mature Love (sexual and spiritual intimacy) _____
National Security (protection from attack) _____
Pleasure (an enjoyable, leisurely life) _____
Salvation (saved, eternal life) _____
Self-Respect (self-esteem) _____
Social Recognition (respect, admiration) _____
True Friendship (close companionship) _____
Wisdom (a mature understanding of life) _____

Instrumental Values

For the 18 values listed on this page, use the same procedure you used on the previous page. Please arrange the values in order of their importance to you, as guiding principles in your life. Put a "1" beside the value that is most important to you, and continue to rank in descending order of importance until you put an "18" beside the value that is least important to you.

Ambitious (Hard-working, aspiring)	_____
Broadminded (open-minded)	_____
Capable (competent, effective)	_____
Cheerful (lighthearted, joyful)	_____
Clean (neat, tidy)	_____
Courageous (standing up for your beliefs)	_____
Forgiving (willing to pardon others)	_____
Helpful (working for the welfare of others)	_____
Honest (sincere, truthful)	_____
Imaginative (daring, creative)	_____
Independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient)	_____
Intellectual (intelligent, reflective)	_____
Logical (consistent, rational)	_____
Loving (affectionate, tender)	_____
Obedient (dutiful, respectful)	_____
Polite (courteous, well-mannered)	_____
Responsible (dependable, reliable)	_____
Self-Controlled (restrained, self-disciplined)	_____

APPENDIX B

Attitude Toward Advertising

Now, we would like to ask about your attitude toward advertising shown on prime-time television.

For the following scale, put a check mark in the space for each word-pair which best describes your attitude toward:

Advertising Shown on Prime-time Television

Bad:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	Good
Accurate:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	Inaccurate
Unimportant:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	Important
In Good Taste:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	In Bad Taste
Insincere:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	Sincere
Like:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	Dislike
Uninformative:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	Informative
Honest:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	___:	Dishonest